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ABSTRACT

The history of the racial problem in the United States is discussed as it affects higher education. The role several universities are playing to ease the problem is considered, including efforts at the U.S. Military Academy to admit larger numbers of minority students. The impact of higher education for minority students on the Army is also assessed. (Author)

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THE US MILITARY ACADEMY AND THE ISSUE OF RACE IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A PERSPECTIVE

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THE US MILITARY ACADEMY AND THE ISSUE OF RACE IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

This is a report about Black Americans; it is also directed towards higher education in general, the US Military Academy, and the Army. The purpose is to place the minority recruitment effort of the Academy into a perspective with the rest of the country in light of the rapid changes in social history during the past ten years. The questions to be confronted stem from recent Academy efforts to increase minority enrollment: Why should West Point or any degree-granting institution exert particular energy to enroll additional Negroes? What goals does the institution hope to achieve?

Perhaps the answers to these questions have not been forthcoming because they belong to the national culture and not exclusively to the institution; perhaps the answers are not forthcoming because they are too obvious or too elusive. This paper will present some perspective on:

I. The history of Negroes at West Point;

II. The efforts of other colleges and universities to respond to the racial imperative on their campuses;

III. The larger issue within the society which has generated education's concern with its role in the solution of the racial crisis;

IV. The impact on the Army of West Point's programs to provide this country with well-educated Black Americans.

Several official actions precipitated the preparation of this report. First, the US Military Academy established the position of Minority Recruitment Officer with responsibility to contact prospective minority candidates, support them through the admissions procedure, and to insure the continued, expanded enrollment of minority students in the Corps of Cadets.

Largely to support the Minority Recruitment Officer, the Equal Admissions Opportunity Committee was formed to suggest new methods for the Office of Admissions which would increase the efficiency of the minority recruitment effort.

Finally, the Office of Institutional Research has been conducting a Minority Group Research Program to monitor the influx

of minority cadets, study the methods employed by other schools, and to prepare research reports which will inform the Faculty and Staff on any and all matters pertinent to the issue of race and higher education.

These measures taken by the Academy imply a certain commitment, and this report should help to frame that commitment within the larger perspective of the debate over the nation's responsibilities to its minority group citizens.

PART I

USMA AND ITS NEGRO CADETS: PAST, PRESENT, AND OUTLOOK ON THE FUTURE

The US Military Academy and the other major service schools have begun to take their place among those who are endeavoring to combat the problems of race and higher education. The federal service schools differ in kind from other private and public institutions of higher learning in the nation. In addition to the dual goal of military and academic education, the academies are limited by statute in admissions and administrative programs. Comparisons between the Military Academy and civilian schools mentioned in this report should be considered in the context of unique restraints imposed on the Academy. In order to better understand the present posture of the academies on racial issues, it may be helpful to review the history of one of them as it effects relationships with minority students. Our example will be the Military Academy.

In 1879, sixty-eight years after its founding, the first Negro youth was accepted as a cadet at the United States Military Academy; an appointee of carpetbagger Soloman L. Hoge from South Carolina. Prior to this time Congressman Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts had believed that the Radical Republican cause would be aided by the admission of a qualified Negro into the ranks of the Corps of Cadets, evidently to symbolize a national recognition of the equal rights and potential of the ex-slaves. He turned to James Fairchild for assistance in this matter as Fairchild was then President of Oberlin College, an integrated institution. This request came in 1867, but at that time President Fairchild could not give Butler the name of a candidate whom he believed could withstand the rigors of the Academy. Consequently, Butler made no appointment.

The Academy was not a strong political organization at this time and was used as a testing-ground for such political goals as the reunion of the North and South, and the promotion of "men of color" as equally deserving of education. However, evidence indicates that the Academy felt an urgent need to see to the fair and equal treatment of the influx of southern white youth and Negroes which had begun after the close of the Civil War.

Two Negroes entered West Point at this phase of its development: James W. Smith of South Carolina, and a youth named Howard from Mississippi. Howard did not pass the entrance examinations, and thus, Smith became the first Negro to become a cadet. Smith spent four years at West Point but never graduated. He was turned back one year and was later found deficient in Natural Philosophy and dismissed. His presence, however, shocked the rest of the Corps, and they resented him bitterly. Then in 1871, Henry A. Napier arrived and in 1872, Thomas Van R. Gibbs joined the Corps of Cadets. Napier was dismissed one year later, being found deficient in Mathematics and French. Gibbs remained only for a half-year because he too was found deficient in mathematics.

The newspapers of the time carried articles suggesting that the officers at West Point were conspiring to see to it that no Negro would graduate. In 1873 however, Henry O. Flipper came to the Academy and graduated four years later, on schedule. His writings concerning his experiences at West Point help greatly to understand what happened to Smith, Napier and Gibbs. Hazing,[1] Flipper says, was not practiced on the Negroes in the usual fashion. Instead the Corps generally avoided the Negroes as much as possible, suffering them to endure the life of ostracism and isolation. This, in many ways, was a greater hardship than physical hazing and terribly distracted the other three Negroes. Smith was apparently a proud and arrogant man who became driven to meet force with force and suffered under the jabs and epithets of the other cadets. This characteristic did not serve him well, and he often fell into difficulties.

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[1] The routine of cadet life was not yet fixed in 1870, and the nature of education in America was being evaluated everywhere. Nearly all of the colleges were in a state of flux, but while civil institutions were greatly expanding their lists of extracurricular activities, the cadets at West Point were being continually restricted by Superintendent Wesley Merritt. Drinking, and the smoking of pipes had been prohibited, and the only sanctioned activities to remain were the Dialectic and Young Men's Christian Associations. The cadets responded to this pressure in a fairly predictable fashion; hazing came into vogue. Although the Superintendents did not view such activities as being a legitimate part of the establishment, their objections and scrutiny proved ineffectual and hazing practices grew and prospered.

Flipper says that Smith did very well at the first, but allowed his studies to slip increasingly. Flipper states that the Academy gave Smith every opportunity to make up his deficiency, but Smith did not respond. Smith's dismissal, as well as those of Napier and Gibbs, were described by Flipper as being fair and honest. Flipper conducted himself unassumingly and did not force himself on the rest of the Corps. He accepted his isolation and used it to his ultimate advantage, i.e., study and graduation. He believed in Christian conduct and acted accordingly, taking any and all hazing in stride, believing it to be a necessary part of the military education.[1]

The new Plebes were never slow to seek him out, Flipper writes, and speak with him and ask about his welfare. But these same Plebes would later join the ranks of his tormentors as they "learned" quickly to abhor even the sight of a "d--d nigger." This singular observation best describes the tenor of West Point during those early years. Flipper insists that the officers (administration) of the Academy were forever gentlemen, being fair and objective about him. The Corps itself was the home of the fear and apprehension that led them to their snobbish conduct and ungentlemanly behavior. Flipper felt that even this was pretense however, and believed that most of the cadets felt kindly towards him but that they were compelled to act as they did for fear of hardship to themselves. This point he illustrates with examples in his book. He states that after graduation most of his subjective feelings and observances were confirmed by his fellow graduates. Flipper did indeed graduate and won a post as a cavalry officer, a position of prestige.

Three more Negroes came to the Academy while Flipper was there and all failed. They were: John W. Williams (deficient in French in one-half year); Johnson C. Whittaker (deficient in Philosophy after six years at West Point); and Charles A. Minnie who actually arrived in the September following Flipper's graduation (deficient in Mathematics after one year). It was ten years before another "man of color" successfully passed through West Point; in 1887 John H. Alexander of Ohio followed in Flipper's tracks.

By 1936 the uniqueness of having Negroes in attendance at the Academy had dulled somewhat and the shock and discomfort of

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[1] Flipper, H.D., The Colored Cadet at West Point, New York, 1878.

the rest of the cadets had eased. The United States had entered into one World War and was soon to be compelled into another. These circumstances may have played an important role in the evolution of Negro history at West Point.

The modern period of the history of Negroes at West Point commences with the graduation of Benjamin O. Davis of Illinois. Davis rose to the rank of Lieutenant General to become the highest ranking Negro in the United States at that time. Five years later, in 1941, James D. Fowler, also from Illinois, graduated from West Point. Fowler served for 26 years, retiring in 1967 with the rank of Colonel.

The opportunities for Negroes to share equally in the cadet experience had expanded significantly from 1889 to 1940, nonetheless, the Negro remained a "second class citizen" at West Point throughout the period 1940 - 1956. Isolation, name-calling, special restrictions and bigotry continued to plague Negro cadets. Robert B. Tresville was apparently able to overcome the resident prejudices and gain the cadet rank of Lieutenant. While attending flight school, as a part of his military training, he was promoted to the cadet rank of Captain. Tresville's cadet and military careers were outstanding, setting many firsts; he was one of the first Negroes to attain cadet officer rank; he was the first Negro cadet to graduate directly into the Army Air Forces; and he was the first in his class to be selected for promotion to Major, a rank he would not assume because of a fatal air crash in World War II combat on the very day he was to be promoted.

Clarence M. Davenport, also a 1943 graduate, was the first Negro on record to hold an intra-academy rank, but his record is devoid of any other activities. Presently, Davenport is a full Colonel and has distinguished himself at the War College and as a senior member of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The excellence which characterizes C.M. Davenport's career, and Tresville's, was achieved against the limiting factors of prejudice. These men were often treated unfairly at West Point, and were subject to discrimination from outside sources as well. A classmate of Tresville's recalls that Robert was not permitted to play in an intercollegiate game because the opposing team refused to play against a Negro.

The story of the first Negro to engage in extracurricular activities affords an excellent example of the subdued nature of

the racial discrimination extant in the Corps in the 1940's. Henry M. Francis was a Sergeant in his First Class Year and held one other position. A portion of his history, gleaned, in part, from the 1944 Howitzer reads as follows:

> "...Henry came to West Point with ambition and many aspirations. Unfortunately, mere average ability relegated him to rank in the middle of the class."

As it happens, Francis's only extracurricular activity was that of Academic Coach.

Since 1943 the participation of Negroes in Army athletic activities has remained at a fairly stable level. A similar trend does not appear in the records of non-athletic activities. The evolution of the involvement of Negroes in the West Point environment has evidently followed a clear course: participation in the cadet chain of command; acceptance into sports teams and clubs; and finally inclusion into purely social, non-athletic activities.

The evolutionary pattern actually followed is consistent with the hypothesis that as an institution the United States Military Academy has set up few of the obstacles which have inhibited the acceptance of Negroes. The Corps of Cadets, with its own organization and the mentality of a 17-21 year old youth, was apparently the greatest obstacle to the social integration of Negroes at West Point. Neither the Academy nor the Congress of the United States can control the minds of such a group as this. Participation in the life at West Point could only be attained with the "permission" of the Corps.[1]

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[1]This pattern of events leading to a full integration of Negroes into a predominantly white school has been repeated in modern times. In a report on the progress of about 900 Negro students and their attempt to integrate into the Tennessee State Colleges and Universities, N.E. Bradley found that they began to participate in organizations such as:

> "...musical groups, dramatic and forensic activities, athletics, ROTC, some curricular clubs and church groups."

Few, if any, of this group of Negroes entered fraternities or patronized dances and other social activities. The record of the participation of USMA's Negroes displays a parallel type of development.

In the period from 1943-1950 the most frequently attended clubs by the Negro cadets were the Camera Club, the Howitzer, the Ski Club, and the Portuguese Club. The preceding clubs would not have been predicted from Bradley's report. These activities, however, were probably small and therefore by that fact offered little pressure against the Negro. The next ten year period follows the predicted pattern more exactly. From 1951 to 1961 the following clubs were often joined by the Negro cadets: the Camera Club, the Debate Council and Forum, the French Club, the Ski Club, and the Glee Club. The remaining ten year period (1962-1969) follows a similar pattern with the addition of other choral groups and membership on the Pointer, cadet magazine. In all, from 1944 to the present, the Negro cadet has participated in an average of 3.2 clubs while at West Point, exclusive of athletic and sports oriented activities. The range for this group is from 0 to 7 clubs over a four year period.[1]

This history of the Military Academy in race relations is not to be considered critical; rather, it is representative of the other academies, and evidence suggests, many civilian colleges as well. At Wesleyan for example, the first Black student left the University in 1832--not as a graduate. After he was gone, the white students collectively resolved that it had been "inexpedient" for Wesleyan to have accepted Charles B. Ray at that time. It was also in the middle and late 1960's that Wesleyan and the Service Academies began their efforts to extend their educational opportunities to a larger segment of the society.[2]

As was mentioned earlier, the Military Academy has established an Equal Admissions Opportunity Committee to steer its minority

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[1] The history of Negro cadets presented here has been extracted from: Morgovsky, J., "An Overview of the Success of Negro Cadets at West Point: Cadet Rank, Activities, and Present Rank;" Office of Research, XB1.01-69-005; US Military Academy, West Point, New York, 1969.

[2] Margolis, R.J., "The Two Nations at Wesleyan University," New York Times, January 18, 1970, p. 9.

enrollment efforts and aid the single minority recruiter in his plans. The tremendous increase of minority cadets in the Class of 1973 indicates the validity of these measures. The reduction this year, however, in the number of Black cadets enrolled (45-40) suggests that the programs may not be functioning as they ought. To illustrate this point, Table 1 shows a comparison among the three major Academies in terms of the number of Black cadets presently enrolled in each of the four resident classes.

TABLE 1

BLACK CADETS ENROLLED IN CLASSES '71 THROUGH '74 AT US MILITARY ACADEMY, US AIR FORCE ACADEMY, AND US NAVAL ACADEMY (Figures as of 6 Oct 70)

School	Class 1971	1972	1973	1974	Total
USMA	4	9	39	39	91
USAFA	9	16	21	29	75
USNA	12	15	17	21	65

Each of the academies in the comparison share similar total enrollment figures ranging in the neighborhood of 4,000 cadets. Thus, the Military Academy, exhibiting the greatest number of Black cadets, can claim only 2.27% representation for Blacks. The other academies obviously must offer lower percentages. In terms of steady increases in enrollments for each class, the other academies show a steady rise in their figures, while the Military Academy seems to have reached the peak return on its effort. Perhaps what has been lacking is a clear-cut statement of intent on this matter by all of the academies.

The section which follows describes a few of the programs in effect at other universities designed to increase their enrollments of minority students. Most of the systems described

will appear too sweeping to be of immediate value to the Military Academy. The point must be emphasized that essential differences exist between USMA and civilian colleges in several critical spheres. The required curriculum is the most obvious, but governmental controls over administrative and admissions programs are no less limiting. Channels of significant change are far more complex and slow moving at the service academies than elsewhere. The examples which follow demonstrate what can be accomplished when a school commits a large portion of its financial and intellectual resources to the solution of challenging new problems. Unabashedly and enthusiastically displaying their goals to the nation permits these schools to concentrate on the development of measures required to accomplish their special mission. Little or no energy is diverted to the maintainance of defenses; they have prejudged their direction as being necessary and correct. From this kind of dynamic dedication to one of our country's pressing social problems an important lesson can be learned.

This report does not represent an endorsement of the measures instituted at other colleges; rather it seeks to open those measures to comparative analysis. Notice should be taken that programs to increase minority enrollment are not devoid of difficulties.

PART II

A SAMPLE OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO THE ISSUE OF RACE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Colleges and universities all over the country have initiated admissions and curricular modifications in order to accommodate greater numbers of disadvantaged students. Rutgers University, City University of New York, Bowdoin College, Brown University, Wesleyan, and many others have all made energetic efforts to deal with the problem. A common interest among all of these schools has been the matter of admissions criteria. Rutgers, CUNY and Bowdoin, for example have either dropped certain requirements or have promised admission to all candidates who live within particular geographic limits. Wesleyan, on the other hand, has made major revisions in its curriculum in an attempt to make the college experience more "relevant" for Black students. The prevailing philosophy of these, and other active schools, centers on the notion that current admissions practices are fine, but one sure method to determine whether or not a student can complete college work is to admit him and evaluate his performance in the college. Certainly this is the method from which modern admissions programs evolved based upon a majority of white students.

For most of the colleges active in minority recruitment, the employment of minority staff members in admissions positions, or use of minority students for recruitment, has proved indispensable. The minority recruiters are often familiar with the local geography and, in any case, strive to achieve personal contact with high school administrators and students within the recruiting radius of the college. Of course, the most critical tool available to the recruiters is usually the special programs and opportunities for minority students who might attend the college in question.[1] This facet of recruitment is not so critical when the objects of the enterprise are

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[1] "A wide variety of recruiting methods have been used by those colleges actively seeking to increase their minority enrollment... The most common include visits to schools, contact with school personnel, and assistance from minority students. The most generally helpful methods seem to involve one of three elements: minority personnel, direct

fully qualified applicants. In such cases, recruitment of minorities is very much like recruitment in industry and sports. There are dangers inherent in practicing "cream of the crop" admissions methods exclusively however. In a recent report, Robert T. Blackburn points out that:

> "Over the past ten years, new programs in curriculum in four-year colleges and universities have been predominantly directed towards the student with the high SAT scores. ...Curricular practices reveal faculty values. What the professor seems to want more than anything else is a more able student...
>
> There is nothing morally wrong with this elitist stance, this concern for excellence and high accomplishment. Doing a job in the best possible manner is an honorable value. However, in many cases, such desires also carry with them racist overtones. Concentrating on activities for which the less privileged are judged unqualified is no longer tolerable. Blacks and others have both the right and the privilege to a B.A. from a respected college or university in the Establishment. Persons who want them will receive them.
>
> ...Admitting those whose chances of success are less according to the way the game is currently played simply means that the game as well as the players will

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contact with schools, and special programs designed for minority students. Indirect contact through alumni or lists of minority high school students are found useful by some institutions but are not widely endorsed. Waived fees are often seen as helpful though evidently not a critical recruiting aid.

Two recruiting aids which are highly regarded but not always exercised even by the actively recruiting institutions are: (1) use of minority staff and, (2) development of special programs such as tutorials. These may be promising avenues for institutions aiming for higher levels of minority enrollments." Willingham, W.W., "Admission of Minority Students in Mid-Western Colleges," Higher Education Surveys, College Entrance Examination Board, Report M-1, May, 1970, p. 7.

be different. It is not a question of higher or lower standards; it is a question of different standards. And different standards mean different faculty values, different allotments of faculty time and attention, different career patterns."[1]

What has the Military Academy done in its effort to recruit more minority cadets? Within the boundaries of its statutory limitations, the Academy has established a position within the Office of Admissions for a Minority Recruitment Officer. Following the rise in minority enrollment for the Class of 1973, the Equal Admissions Opportunity Committee was established by the Superintendent to insure future successes as well. Exactly what powers the Committee has or what goals it should strive to attain have not yet been satisfactorily established. The result is that recruitment at USMA continues on the same philosophical and commitment level as the year before; only one man is responsible for maintaining, and even increasing, minority enrollment at the Military Academy. For contrast, this paper will outline the efforts of Rutgers University to evolve a logical effort for minority recruitment.

Rutgers University began a program to recruit Black and Puerto Rican youths into specially conceived college programs. Contrary to popular renderings, these youths are channeled into programs which parallel the standard curriculum at Rutgers but which are quite independent in terms of individual rates of progress. Of course, some of the underprivileged youth are admitted to the regular undergraduate curriculum, but they are "flagged" as "high risks."

The special open admissions programs are entitled the Temporary Year Program (TYP) and The Urban University Department or (UUD). The students of the former classification are drawn from all portions of the state of New Jersey, while students in the UUD program are selected only from the cities surrounding the main campuses: New Brunswick, Newark, and Camden, New Jersey.

Historically, Rutgers was approached by the American Council on Education (A.C.E.) in 1957 to cooperate in a resea[illegible]

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[1] Blackburn, R.T., "Changes in Faculty Life Styles," Coll & Univ Bull., 23, 3, p. 5, Nov 1, 1970.

project which was investigating the relevancy of College Board tests for Black students. It became clear that Rutgers had very few Black students at that time, and programs were undertaken to remedy the situation. The movement was organized and supervised by Dr. George Kramer, Dean of Admissions for Rutgers University.

Several high schools throughout New Jersey were selected as sources for minority representatives. In the beginning, there were only 5 participating high schools; presently there are 15. The selection is based upon the density of the Black population in the area, and of course, the general socioeconomic status of the typical Black family in the area. In order to be admitted into Rutgers' program, a student must meet the federal and state standards of "poverty" that is, they must indeed be underprivileged.

The minority applicants are measured against the following yardsticks: good potential students with low "Board" scores (250-400) are likely to be admitted as high risks. Students who demonstrate less potential are considered for either TYP or UUD, and if they are judged unlikely to succeed in these programs, they are next considered for Rutgers' Livingston Campus...a center for urban studies where students can be taught vocational skills useful for social work or in social agencies.

None of the programs have been in effect long enough to permit the luxury of criteria for success. Obviously, success for the "high risk" student means entry into the standard curriculum, and "success" in TYP or UUD can lead to the same. However, a student could conceivably remain in TYP or UUP for an undetermined length of time until satisfying the prerequisites for a B.A. degree from Rutgers. The details of these matters have not been drawn up.

Recruitment for the Rutgers programs is a highly personalized procedure. Representatives from the University visit the 15 high schools and meet individually with the students. The recruiters need to convince many of these students to finish high school and try for college. In large urban schools, this kind of motivation is apparently in low supply among Black and Puerto Rican youngsters. The next hurdle is invariably the question of finances. This obstacle is often impossible to

breach regardless of the recruiter's assurances.

The secret of Rutgers' successful recruitment seems to be personal involvement with and knowledge of the community. The recruiting staff works intensely--actually "pushing" some of the applicants into the Rutgers programs. The recruiters realize that separation from the family (in the case of TYP) is difficult, but also that it is essential to the educational advancement of the student.[1] Rutgers' programs revolve around the energy of a staff of recruiters, three men with offices and administrative support. The sole responsibility of this staff is minority recruitment.

Other schools could be analyzed in turn. Bowdoin, briefly, has notified its applicants that the submission of College Board scores is optional, and that references and interviews can be substituted for admissions purposes. In addition, Bowdoin uses its own presently enrolled students to recruit promising Black applicants. As part of the recruitment process, 40 of the best Black candidates were flown to Bowdoin for a visit before the commencement of the 1970-71 school year. The recruiting effort is directed towards high population density regions such as Boston, Massachusetts, Newark, New Jersey, New York City, New York, and Washington, D.C., right in USMA's back yard.

Other innovations operating at Bowdoin include dropping freshman year course requirements, permitting incoming students to delve immediately into a subject area of particular interest to them. Of course, this too is optional, and a "standard" first year curriculum can still be elected by Bowdoin students. "Unrest" at Bowdoin has been minor, if not insignificant. Communications between their Afro-American Society, President, and Dean are open and productive. Grumblings among students have been low-pitched; individual bigotry finds its way into

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[1] Based upon conversations with the Admissions staff of Rutgers University and particularly: Mr. Willie Hamm, Minority Recruiting Officer; Mr. Kolodinsky, Director of Undergraduate Admissions. Held at Rutgers' New Brunswick, N.J. campus, 6 May 1970.

every facet of the American social order.[1] The results of the experiment at Bowdoin have been gratifying, and minority enrollment has climbed to over 10% for the classes involved.[2] Nonetheless, there are a number of professional educators and admissions officers who view the Bowdoin experiment with some skepticism and even alarm.

Wesleyan University has been a leader in minority recruitment in the Northeast for several years, and the experiences of Wesleyan represent one of the extremes of "gearing up" for increased minority enrollment. In 1967 the administration at Wesleyan believed that the solution to racial imbalance in their school simply required the enrollment of increased numbers of Black students. Three years later, their accommodation of minority students has proven a catalyst for the development of several special programs in the curriculum, increased representation of Blacks on the faculty, and the establishment of an Afro-American Institute on the campus.

The influx of greater numbers of minority students to Bowdoin College and Wesleyan University has forced those institutions to come into contact with issues not traditionally experienced on their campuses. The view from outside of the institutions recognizes a conflict of ideas and translates that conflict into a "problem." Problems require solutions, but conflicts do not. After visiting Wesleyan, Richard J. Margolis reported that white students were wary of Blacks, Blacks were aloof to whites, and that two Latin factions were jealous of each other and the other ethnic groups at the school.[3] Reports of interracial threats, hatred, and paranoia were produced. Disruption of the serenity of the campus was reported. For both Wesleyan and Bowdoin, the opinion exists at other schools that increased numbers of minority students breed disruption, and the disruption hurts the school in the form of decreased alumni support and decreases in the applicant pools.

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[1] Telephone conversation with Mr. R. Boyden, Assistant Director of Admissions, Bowdoin College, January 1971.

[2] Ibid., July 1970.

[3] Margolis, R.J., "Two Nations at Wesleyan University," New York Times, January 18, 1970, pp. 9, 49, 54, 60-64.

Another opinion recently expressed in the media suggests that those schools involved in the recruitment of Blacks pass over highly qualified minority applicants in their search for "authentic ghetto types." The mechanism responsible for this phenomenon is supposed to be "guilt, compassion or a desire to avoid trouble;" or "social conscience requires that help be concentrated on those who need help most;" or even "good Black students will make it anyway."[1]

All of these "problems" exist. They are the inevitable outcome of cultural transfusion, actually an infusion. When a traditionally all-white college, university, or corporation suddenly introduces a unique culture into their environments, the result is first the conflict of ideas and then change... change which accommodates both ideas where only one existed before.

Officials at both Wesleyan and Bowdoin do not substantiate reports of violence and campus unrest. Yes, conflicts arose and the students were fully involved, but change has set in and the campus community has been altered such that the basic conflict survives in a new atmosphere where it can be studied, dealt with, and understood. According to sources at Wesleyan, alumni support of the college increased last year, even in the face of "tight money" and an unsettled campus. Acceptances have declined at Wesleyan but not more than at other colleges and certainly not enough to warrant administrative alarm. Studies have indicated that rising costs versus a depressed economy accounts for as much of the decline in acceptances as did the impact of the publicity given to Wesleyan.

One administrator has observed that as more minority students entered the school, the problems of cultures in conflict subsided. Naivete' on the part of the students and administration was overcome by experience, and the enlarged minority student body promoted more self-confident behavior which replaced the defensive "posturing" of the first few Blacks.[2] No college contemplating programs to introduce greater numbers of minority

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[1] Sowell, T., "Colleges are Skipping Over Competent Blacks to Admit 'Authentic' Ghetto Types," New York Times, Dec 13, 1970, p. 35.

[2] Conversation with Robert Kirkpatrick, Dean of Admissions, Wesleyan University, January 1971.

students should expect the effort to end at the level of admissions. Rutgers, Bowdoin, and Wesleyan supply us with the necessary evidence to suggest that the fundamental conflict of ideas between ethnic groups requires an environment flexible enough to encompass them both. Higher education cannot and should not force the adaptation of one culture to another; it should be prepared to provide an atmosphere of cooperation, enrichment through understanding, and social education. Richard Margolis, after describing the polarization he perceived at Wesleyan, said:

> "If the analogy with cocoons means anything, it means that sooner or later they must give way to a freer more mature form of living." "...If moving ahead seems difficult, the alternative of moving back seems downright disastrous."[1]

Other significant efforts on the part of major American colleges and universities include the study of "high risk" students conducted by Brown University and the "open admissions" program at City University of New York which began this year. The importance of the Brown study has been its stimulation of interest in non-academic predictors of success in college. The C.U.N.Y. program cannot yet be evaluated, but has tremendous potential for stimulating further research on the effects of open admissions on higher education.

A frequently posed defense of selective admissions (via standard testing procedures) implies that the academic excellence of a school is determined by the admissions criteria. To the contrary, the former and the latter can operate quite independently. Academic standards are set by a college as requirements for successful completion of the courses offered. Unfortunately, given the degree of variation in graduation requirements and grading procedures in our colleges, one is hard pressed to define with any generality what a high academic standard actually is for this country. Such is not the case for admissions criteria, which are used by nearly all colleges to determine who will be permitted to enroll and thereby face the academic requirements.

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[1] op. cit., Margolis.

The Brown approach at least demonstrates that people who would be excluded from college under present admissions systems may be capable of completing college work and making significant contributions to society.[1]

Conclusions

Programs similar to Rutgers' are not entirely irrelevant to the national recruitment system used by USMA. The Academy might, for example, strengthen its communications with state Boards of Education for the purpose of bettering state-wide identification of promising minority students. When identifications are made within particular states, USMA District Representatives and Regional Representatives can be utilized to personally interview as many prospects as possible. Apparently it is more fruitful to use Black and Puerto Rican recruiters for each of those ethnic groups. The US Military Academy would likely profit by locating regions or cities with a high density of Blacks who do not typically or spontaneously apply to West Point. Applications by Blacks from southern urban settings are already commonplace at USMA; the need exists for greater effort to seek out applicants in other "prime" areas.

Bowdoin College, while presently creating special curricula, began their minority efforts via their admission criteria. The key to the Bowdoin philosophy is its recognition of the difference between lowering admissions criteria and creating new ones. Academic performance and attrition rates will provide some measure of the success or failure of Bowdoin's experiment.

The Brown University study is similar in purpose to Bowdoin's new policies; the accent is on unique measuring instruments for use with unique cultural groups. At C.U.N.Y. the emphasis is more on observation. The effort at City University may provide the most definitive results of any of the racial experiments discussed in this paper.

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[1] Doebler, C.N., "New Measurements for Admission," Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, April 1970.

Finally, consideration should be given to the events that have, and have not, taken place at Wesleyan University. Ethnic polarization and its effects on campus life are likely consequences of minority presence which ought to be expected. The challenge to a university may rest more heavily in this sphere than in admissions. As Richard Margolis points out, the most important benefits to the Army and society may stem from the colleges' solutions to the racial discords on campus. In a sense, each school with a serious commitment to increased minority enrollment creates a microcosm of society at large in which to initiate programs to create increased racial understanding and harmony. Students entering the Army and the larger community from such environments may be the answer this nation seeks for its ethnic, cultural crisis.

PART III

SOCIETY'S DILEMMA: THE SOURCE AND JUSTIFICATION FOR EDUCATION'S SPECIAL EFFORTS

> "The crisis in race that exists on the college campus is of course only a reflection of a larger, more serious crisis in the country and indeed, throughout the world."[1]

During the 1960's, the collective consciousness of American Blacks was aroused by scirmishes over civil rights and renewed awareness of 300 years of imperfect socialization for Blacks. The years of slavery created social customs based on a man's color and promoted national value judgments on the relative merits of being anything but white. Black men, wrenched from their own cultural milieu, were socialized in America to reject their historical society, to join in the revoltion of their native land and to understand, by means of segregation and discrimination, that they were inferior; all things African and Black were despicable. It became clear to American slaves that White America actively blocked their paths to social elevation and success.

It is extraordinary to note the major role that students played in reversing the process described above. Students began to make tremendous efforts in support of the fight for social justice in the South during 1960, first by de-segregating community services, then by concentrating on local employment practices and the right to vote. The relationship between employment opportunity and educational opportunity rendered higher education an "easy mark" and the prodigal son returned to the schools and pricked the sides of the institution.[2]

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1 Julian Bond in a speech delivered to the Annual Convention of the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., October 1969, from The Chronicle of Higher Education, 20 Oct 69, Vol IV, 4, p. 4.

2 The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 2, 1970, p. 4; October 20, p. 4.

The problems in society which stem from segregation and discrimination have taken the form of reaction by Blacks against forced economic disadvantage, social exclusion and sanction, political emasculation, and educational iniquity. To face the challenges to them posed by their social condition, young Black citizens looked towards education for preparation and development.[1] As the Black need for education continues to be emphasized by Black parents and Black leaders, the nation's colleges can be sure that they will continue to be a focal point for the struggle. Even a casual examination of statistics available on Black education and economics will provide ample evidence that USMA and all other colleges must attend more closely to their minority enrollments.

Beginning at the high school level, it is noted that 62 percent of white teenagers in this country graduate from high school, while only 40 percent of Black teenagers graduate. Among college-aged white youth 38 percent are attending college, while only 22 percent of the Black youth share a similar experience. Increases in Black enrollment in higher education since 1964 have failed to keep up with the enrollment leaps for white students.[2] According to the Scranton Report on

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[1] "One characteristic of the Black population, whether residents of slums, farms, or suburbs, is its fundamental belief in the worth of schooling. When poor parents have had little other grounds for hope that their children could escape poverty, a major hope has been that they would acquire education. Trying to "be somebody" in the Black community often meant trying to improve one's self educationally. Being nobody meant not taking advantage of educational opportunities when these opportunities were realistic. Parents with little schooling themselves have insisted, within their means, that their children acquire training." Morgan, G.D., The Ghetto College Student: A Descriptive Essay on College Youth From the Inner City. The American College Testing Program, Iowa City, Iowa, 1970, p. 14.

[2] US Bureau of the Census, Pocket Data Book, USA 1969. US Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington. D.C. 20402, or any US Department of Commerce Field Office. Price $2.75 (paper).

campus unrest, non-white males in the labor force holding college degrees increased by 13,000 from 1964 to 1968. In a comparative white sample the increase was 1,000,000 men in the same period. If we were to look at like figures for graduate schools, the picture would become even more bleak and the need for greater educational opportunities would seem self-evident. Other data point out that for Blacks and whites the same level of education does not however provide for equality in employment.

Figures collected in 1968 indicate that white males with no more than grade school educations earned higher salaries than Black high school graduates. What is worse, the Black college graduate earned less than his white neighbor who only attained a high school diploma. A substantial portion of the American people are not being served adequately or equally by our society and its educational system.

The principal American minorities are characterized by poverty and relatively poor academic performance, the combination being referred to as "cultural deprivation" or "disadvantaged." Most Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans have experienced "environmental problems:" poverty, discrimination, transiency, and teacher and parent defeatism which collectively contribute to inferior training for higher education. For complex reasons stemming from his youthful environment, the minority student frequently leaves the public school system; but even remaining within the school may provide few rewards for him since his grades are typically lower than those of his middle-class contemporaries, largely as a result of non-academic factors. Should the student graduate from high school, successfully avoiding an almost automatic shunt into vocational training reserved for him, he sees further frustrations ahead in the form of entrance examinations and tuition costs. "The point, however, is that a substantial portion (perhaps as many as half) of current Black high school graduates were counseled, at the beginning of their high school careers or even earlier, into technical and vocational secondary school programs. Hence those students were not exposed to the academic courses conventionally required for admission to, and success in, traditional college programs in the arts and sciences.[1] Such persons are certainly not deprived of a

[1] College Board Review No. 76, Summer 1970, P. 21 (Croseland, F.E.).

culture but are definitely disadvantaged in the competition to enter American colleges and universities.

Most schools cannot expect to open their doors to an increased number of minority students without prohibiting entrance to some white middle class candidates. Federal cutbacks in educational spending plus provisions for more financial assistance to Blacks have already affected the white college majority. Isn't this discrimination in reverse? Perhaps special attention to minority students is a type of discrimination, but it is a thoroughly defensible posture to take in light of the fact that educational opportunities in America today are not equal. There are "subtle and complicated factors which seem to be operative in blocking the academic potential of children of stigmatized or rejected groups. ...Quite early in their lives (these minority children) are burdened with conflicts and ambivalence about self, feelings of inferiority, and, at times, self-hatred."[1] Minority students who knock on the colleges' doors with limited background and educational experiences (in spite of 12 years of public education) bring unique strengths as well as weakness; they have competed successfully in their own environments and against very high odds in the larger environment.

There exists the need to rectify these inequities and to move towards the American ideal of equal opportunities for all Americans. The bulk of the effort must apply to the economic, political and legal underpinnings of the racial crisis, but educational institutions must move now to provide the raw material for resolving one of the most important social issues of the times. According to Gordon D. Morgan:

> "...it appears that colleges need to re-think and re-orient their activities, teaching practices, and expectations in the light of the sociology of economic deprivation of our inner city students. In order to allow the ghetto student a chance to succeed, some toleration for departures from middle class values must be exercised. The ghetto

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[1] "Disadvantaged Children and Discrimination" in The Search For Talent, College Admissions 7., New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1960, p. 17.

student is a complex person; admitting his existence forces the college to try to understand not only what the student wants for himself but what the college really wants for him. Colleges can no longer avoid social decisions and social action. In answering the questions, "Should this college educate ghetto youth?" and "If so, how?" the college is making social decisions and taking important social action."[1]

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[1] Morgan, G.D., The Ghetto College Student: A Descriptive Essay on College Youth From the Inner City. American College Testing Program, Iowa City, Iowa, 1970, p. 56.

PART IV

THE ARMY

In this section the purpose is not to present a comprehensive picture of Army problems in race relations or in the recruitment and retention of minority group officers. Efforts at the Military Academy in these areas will have direct impact on the Army's personnel situation, and it is that relationship which must be stressed. The result of this tack is an oversimplification of Army problems for which the author assumes responsibility.

The position of the US Army relative to the racial issues of today are not the result of a long tradition; in fact, the approach is very new, not much older than the upheaval of racial issues in the civilian society.

> "From the viewpoint of those who believe that the Army could and should have eliminated all or most racial distinction (in response to President Truman's Executive Order of 1948 abolishing segregation in the Armed services), the Army's policies and practices were timidly conservative and ineffective. From the point of view of those who feared any change in the status quo, the Army took some dangerous and unnecessary chances with the mores in the attempt to use its Negro manpower effectively."[1]

The responsiveness of the armed services to racial issues has been well documented as being swift and complete, and indeed the social experiment within the microcosm has been more successful than have efforts to integrate society in general. Recent manpower figures supplied by the Department of the Army indicate the extent of integration which has taken place; as of 31 May 1969, Black soldiers constituted 12.5% of enlisted manpower in the Army, and 3.13% of officer manpower. For all military services, 10% of enlisted men are Black, and 2.1% of officers are Black (as of June 30, 1969).

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[1] Stouffer, S.A., et. al., The American Soldier, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1965, p. 487.

The figures show that success in the Army's attempts to integrate have been limited to the ranks of enlisted men, and in this regard the military reflects the problems of American society and higher education where one finds that population statistics are bottom-heavy with Black families and students. It is in this regard that the Army has a stake in the enrollment of Black youth in colleges (ROTC) and the US Military Academy. Based on figures made available on 4 April 1968, 6% of all college students involved in ROTC training were Black, and of all ROTC students commissioned that year, 2.8% were Black. It is further noted that these figures represent the effect of the predominately Black colleges which traditionally supply the largest source of Black officers to the military. Statistics based solely upon non-Black colleges and universities would be decidedly smaller. Furthermore, a conclusion from a Department of the Army Memorandum states that: "If it were not for the fact that 11 out of 13 predominately Negro colleges have required (ROTC) courses, Negro ROTC enrollments would be considerably less than at present.[1]

Partially as a result of the observed imbalance between Black enlisted men and officers, racial tensions in the military have increased in recent years. The lack of Black leadership aids the disintegration of lines of communications between Black soldiers and their superiors. Results from a landmark study conducted in 1943 clearly showed that the large majority of Black enlisted men preferred serving under Black junior officers (The American Soldier, p. 580). The situation seems to have changed very little since then. The Army looks to West Point and ROTC to relieve the crucial shortage of Black leaders.[2]

The educated and well-trained Black man is in high demand today. The Military Academy runs headlong into this fact in its recruitment effort, and the Army suffers its effects among the ranks of Black field-grade officers. The Black high school

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[1] Memorandum for the Record, 10 April 1968, Public Affairs on Recruiting Division Directorate of ROTC/NDCC, Hq, USCONARC.

[2] Armed Forces Management, June 1970, p. 20-27.

graduate who is tops in his class will be wooed and pursued by countless universities. The competition is high; half-hearted attempts to attract these people will not work. Senior Black officers are attracted by lucrative positions and salaries at the opposite end of the military-industrial phenomenon. The Army's partially successful efforts of a few years ago to recruit young Black officers has, to a large extent, been negated by these and other factors. If the Army is in competition with civil society for our nation's able Black people, then it appears to be losing.

There are signposts which indicate that the Army's problems in race-related areas have a high priority. General Westmoreland, writing in a recent Armed Forces Journal,[1] gives capsule treatment to several of the issues considered to be primary. He agrees, for example, that "...There (has) been an increase in racial tensions in the Army," and that these tensions can be tied directly to "...ineffective communications." More important for this report, however, is the Chief of Staff's major emphasis on the "Army's attempts to procure and retain more minority group junior officers." He says that "Special attention is being given to the enrollment of minority group cadets at the US Military Academy and in ROTC programs at predominately Negro colleges." It must be embarrassing for him to admit that "these actions have met with little success thus far." The "upward trend" in minority enrollment at USMA must be "redoubled" he says. Thus, the Academy not only has a challenge and a responsibility to enroll more Blacks, it has a mandate.

Taking into account the governmental and legal considerations inherent in the normal functioning of the Military Academy, dramatic progress is likely to result when the external factors retarding the advancement of Blacks are diminished. Those who nominate candidates must lend a hand to the effort. Increased federal assistance to education which could upgrade the quality of education for all citizens must become real

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[1] Westmoreland, W.C., Gen, "Westmoreland: Facing up to the External and Internal Challenges," Armed Forces Journal, 108, 4 January 1971, p. 25.

and effective. The point is that the Army and the Academy both have a stake in the furtherance of equalitarianism; the civil and the military interests interface on this issue. In order to realize larger representation of Black junior officers, American colleges must provide space for more Black students who can participate in ROTC and compete for OCS. The service academies depend upon civil educational excellence to provide qualified candidates for cadetships. Thus, it is clear that the Army has much to gain from current emphasis on the equal educational opportunities for Blacks; failure to advance towards the equalitarian dream could sharply limit the abilities of the entire nation, to include its military efficiency.